/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magía en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

56 182 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/145 cont./
567 the death of his aunt, Umaralí dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There
he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only re-
ceived a visit from time to time from his male slave, from
whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during
the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth
and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce
and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few
notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last
section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe
these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present
in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence
of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fisher-
men of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control
of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the
famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners
of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to
the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come
in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda.
For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms,
alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure,
becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable."
(1)

1. Julián, Antonio:
La Perla de América, Provincia
de Santa Marta, reconocida,
observada y expuesta en discursos
históricos /The Pearl of America:
Province of Santa Marta, checked,
observed, and explained in historical

[7 cont.]

Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Riohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

* * *

All these facts that we have been describing and the knowledge that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1967, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigator, Licenciado Milcíades Chaves, Licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Inés de Serrano, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Goajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licenciada Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

[8 cont.]
now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11]

II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Ríohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

F756
[13 cont.]
F756
●114
F71

verdict, the decision must be accepted; otherwise he will die for having disobeyed the orders of the spirit. [14]

Métraux, referring to the abnormal physical and psychic characteristics of the medicine man says: "In Thurn" (Among the Indians of Guiana. London, 1883, p. 334) "declares that among the Indians of British Guiana shamans are recruited from among epileptics, but this affirmation, which no other authority confirms, could well have been inspired by the behavior of the piai in the course of his trances." (9) [Cited in French.]

9. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 201.

On our part, we can say that we also were tempted to classify as epileptic the attacks which the shaman suffers at the beginning of what we have called his vocation, since the symptoms described make one easily believe that they are such. But when we learned of the curious and interesting aspect of sexual taboo, possibly more severe for the woman than the man, which we shall describe fully in future chapters, we were then inclined to think of them as a form of hysteria, and for this reason we have called them hysterical attacks.

It might be thought that the effect of the tobacco or some other narcotic is what brings about this state of trance or ecstasy, but one must bear in mind that one of the clear signs of the illumination is the attack which occurs before taking the narcotic or stupefying drug. This makes us disagree with Professor Métraux when he states: "No anomaly or physical or physiological particularity seems to have been chosen as the symptom of a special predisposition for the practice of shamanism." (10) [Cited in French.]

10. Ibid., I, 202.

Furthermore, the visions and loss of consciousness are confirmed by Kurt Nimuendajú, cited by Professor Métraux when referring to the Ipurinã:"... a spirit appears before him in the form of a monkey or water dog and demands of him his submission. His head whirls, a thousand colors dance before his eyes; he has

9: Pineda Giraldo--14 E-6 (1947) 1968 SC13 Guajiro SC13

[14 cont.]
become a hart." (11) [Cited in French.]

11. Mélesse. Op. cit., I, 203.

We find another proof of the sick personality of the shaman, which would appear to be an almost indispensable requisite of the profession, among the Tarumo of the plains of Venezuela. "Every community has its own priest or musician. This is a shaman or piache. He is a more or less retarded being from the psycho-physiological point of view and one whose soul -- he says -- journeys to the land of the gods during religious ceremonies." (12) [15]

12. Le Besnerais, Henry. Algunos aspectos del río Capanaparo y de sus indios Tarumo [Some aspects of the Capanaparo River and of its Tarumo Indians], p. 18.

Period of training. Continuing with the story of the woman shaman with which we began this chapter about magic in La Guajira, we shall now see how the older shaman called in for the purpose carried out the training of the aspirant. She transmitted all her knowledge in a long period of training. She took hold of the apprentice, sat her on her knees, made her take up the ceremonial maraca, and with her own hand showed and directed her in all the required movements. She proceeded to invoke the spirits and to make her pupil repeat all the motions, positions, prayers, and canticles. This operation was carried out several times during the day and at times during the night. Furthermore, the old shaman was always on the alert for the various orders and indications which the spirit imparted to the pupil. After some time had elapsed in this training, the spirit said to the instructress: "Withdraw. Now the young woman can be a shaman." Afterward it gave instructions regarding the items of calculation about which we shall learn in the corresponding section.

During the period of training the teacher shaman demanded from the initiate some proofs of her knowledge [ciencia]. On one occasion she said, "Take a firebrand and make an attempt at divination." The girl obeyed and proceeded to divine as she had

[17 cont.]

[illegible] *napiawa*, *matkiawai*, males; and *anayaru*, *siwaruna*, *wurulá-nurú*, *waiwiia*, and *purúiuna*, females.

The common spirit of sickness and death, *wanurú*, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession implies danger as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the *jirainy* or *wanurú*.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, dressed like *wüinu* (civilization). They are *wanurú* that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called *wanurú*. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name *wanurú* and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [18] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

Referring to prophecy, Ortoneches in his introduction to Celedón's *Guajiro Grammar* relates -- we do not know on what authority -- the statement of Ensign de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[58 cont.]

"Shamans will augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction] ,p. 25.

With respect to the relations between the shaman and his protector spirits in general, Mézeux affirms: "The relations between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analysed by Barnes: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Mézeux. Op. cit., I, 212.

Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[32 cont.]

*756 various spirits by one person. They are several spirits associated
775 by this post-mortem relationship which act inseparably in their
787 function as counselors.

It is also very probable that the protector spirits invoked by the shamans may not be anything other than the spirits of famous deceased shamans of times past to whom they turn for aid. In this case they would only have to make a change of name due to the taboo relating to the use of the name of dead persons, which we shall explain in the corresponding chapter.

• • •

● 114 Before continuing with our subject, we wish to make cer-
171 tain clarifying statements with respect to the presence of women
562 in the science of magic in La Guajira and in general among
*756 primitive Americans. We have already seen that among the Guajiro Indians the only basic condition required to become a shaman is what we have called the "revelation," accompanied by the symptoms described earlier. The sex, age, or economic and social position of the person is not taken into account in any way. It is, as we have stated, only necessary to be of a hysterical nature. However, Métraux in his work which we have repeatedly quoted states:

"In tropical South America the profession of shaman appears to be as a general rule reserved for the masculine sex. One does find, however, among many writers reference to women shamans." (26) [Cited in French.] According to these authors

26. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 198.

quoted by Métraux, (Rochefort, Roth, Koch, Grünberg, and Ives d'Evreux), women shamans are to be found in the Antilles and among the Tupinamba, Taulipang, Arekuna [Arekena], and Macushi [Macusi].

With reference especially to women shamans in La Guajira, Métraux maintains the following, based on Petrullo's The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River: "Among the Arawak tribe of the Guajiro

[32 cont.]
114 the number of women shamans is greater than that of the men
171 piai. At the suggestion of these latter, women will enter the
562 profession following a call from the spirit world and [33] are
756 initiated into the secrets of their art by an experienced shaman who at night teaches them to handle the rattle and sing their magic songs." (27) [Cited in French.] He likewise quotes cases

27. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

of women shamans among the ancient Mojo Indians of eastern Bolivia and the Itonama, neighbors of those previously mentioned (28), as well as among the Apapocuva (Guaranf), the

28. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 199.

Cobeuo, the Palikur, and the Carajá (29).

29. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

Further on, speaking of the role of women in witchcraft, he says: "With the exception of the passage in Ives d'Evreux..." (relative to the Tupinamba) "there does not exist any description of a shamanistic seance of the current type being directed by a female piai. This hiatus is perhaps due to the poverty of our sources, but it is also revelatory of the real position of women in shamanism. The profession is open to them, but the role they play in it is modest. It appears they limit themselves to simple and easy cures, to various remedies, and to the recital of charms. Women do not usually take part in the invocation of spectacular spirits before the extraction of pathogenic substances. It is certainly not through the effect of simple coincidence that women shamans appear especially in the cultures that have come strongly under European influence (Guajiro, Yaruro, Palikur, Warrau, Itonama, and Guaranf, etc." (30) [Cited in French.]

30. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 200.

[33 cont.]

●114 117 562 *756 We do not wish to question Professor Métraux's statement about the influence of White contact in relation to medicine-women in the other groups cited by him, as we are not objectively acquainted with them. But with regard to the Guajiro, we have to make the clarification that in the descriptions collected by us in the field, it is precisely the woman who really initiates magic, or better said shamanism, among the Indians, when she obliges her nephew to follow her own career. This aspect can be better understood when the reader comes to the section of this chapter entitled "The shaman in oral literature." [174] The fact that women appear as shamans in oral literature demonstrates the antiquity of the institution, as this literature faithfully preserves the most remote traditions of the group.

*756 The shaman, man of two worlds. All that we have seen in connection with the life cycle of the Guajiro shaman makes us think that he is what we have called him in the subtitle that heads these paragraphs: a man of two worlds — the world of the living and the world of the spirits of the dead. [34]

*756 554 The communication which he establishes after all the preparatory ceremonies with one or several protector spirits who lavish on him every kind of counsel and instruction and even protect him against evil in all its manifestations: illness, enemies, public calamities, etc., make of him a man distinct from all the rest. His status is superior to that of other mortals because in his hands he has power over both good and evil. It is this duality that binds with his science a man who is both sacred and human, a being respected by all but feared at the same time, a good man, able to cure illnesses, but also a malignant being, liable to let loose the fury of the spirits beyond the grave. He is respected, loved, feared, and even, we might dare to say, profoundly hated.

[783] What predominates in him above all is the characteristic of impurity due to contamination from death. Sacred and impure become confounded in him; he is sacred because he is untouchable, and he is untouchable because of his participation with death through his protector spirits.

*756 His dual position as inhabitant of two worlds, involuntary it is true, depends on two fundamentally simple facts: first, his

[63 cont.]

Family groups	Representative animals
614 Jayáriyú	dog (42)

42. It should be made clear that this animal symbol is, or must be, relatively modern, as the dog was unknown before the Conquest. The substitution of this for some other animal, we do not know which, must have occurred in the Post-conquest era for reasons unknown up to now.

Ápshana	buzzard
Síjuana	wasp
Soryú	cataneja
Páusayú	bee

The social or mythical meaning of these animals representing the extended family groups has been lost. At least we could not obtain any verbal declaration from our informants in which we could perceive the actuating presence of the totem, which is what possibly in olden times these animal figures represented. *But we have in some cases been able to establish* linguistic correspondence between the name of the family group and its characteristic animal. To verify this we can show some examples (43).

• [114]

43. We expound this short linguistic study with some reservations since our stay in La Guajira was relatively short, two months approximately, in which length of time the study of the language scarcely reached the rudimentary stage.

192 614 825 1. uri or wih = make
wayú = Indian, people

[125 cont.]

524 the singer says to her: "You are not a virgin, I would never
have believed this of you, but it is true. A pity, my pretty
831 majayura, that you have not your virginity and that men have
had their bodies over yours." He than places her in a place
separate from the virgins. When he finishes doing this with all
the girls in the group, he distributes prizes to the virgins, to
[43] these who have triumphed in the trial, and he eulogizes them
again. The girls later return the presents which are only simu-
lated gifts.

114 The French writer Roger Callois has interpreted these
fiestas carried out from ancient to present times in a chapter
called [126] "La transgresión sagrada. Teoría de la Fiesta"
[The Sacred Sin. Theory of the Fiesta], and he says in this
respect: "To their normal way of life, occupied with their
daily work, peaceful, surrounded by a system of prudent pro-
hibitions where the maxim quieta non movere maintains law and
order in their world, there is opposed the effervescence of the
fiesta. This, if only its external aspects are considered, shows
identical reactions at every civilized level. It implies a great
number of excited, noisy people. These conglomerations of
masses greatly influence the starting of and the contagion of an
exultation which spends itself in shouts and gestures and en-
courages the uncontrolled abandonment of all to the most ir-
responsible impulses. Even today when without doubt the now
impoverished fiestas have very little effect on the greyish back-
ground of the monotonous everyday life of the people and appear
to be sporadic, spread out, almost stagnated, there may still be
distinguished in their celebrations some miserable vestiges of the
collective abandonment which characterized these ancient
riotous celebrations." And later he states: "In the so-called
primitive civilizations the contrast is very much more clearly
marked. The fiesta lasts several weeks, even several months,
interrupted by intervals of rest of from four to five days. At
times it required several years to gather together the quantity of
comestibles and delicacies which would be not only consumed or
despatched ostentatiously but also destroyed and wasted purely
and simply because waste and destruction are forms of excess

[126 cont.]

and they enter into the feast as part and parcel of the traditional ceremony.

"This usually ends in a frenzied, orgiastic manner in a libertine night of uproar and movement which the most ordinary instruments, playing to time, transform into rhythmic motion and dancing. According to the description of a witness, the human mass, crowded together, swaying and pounding the ground with their stamping, turn and shake around a central pole. The agitation is translated into every kind of manifestation which increases it. It grows and is intensified by everything that it expresses: the clash of spears against shields, guttural songs, loudly marking time, roughness and promiscuities during the dance. Violence erupts spontaneously. Every now and again men come to blows. The combatants are separated, lifted on high by strong arms, and are rocked to the rhythm of the music until they calm down. But none of this interrupts the dance. In the same way, the couples will suddenly leave, come together in the adjacent forest, and then return to take their places once again in the whirling crowd which continues until morning.

"One can understand that the fiesta which expresses such a paroxysm of life and stands out so drastically from the smallness of their accustomed daily tasks would appear to any individual joining in the exalted throng as another world, where he feels sustained and transformed by forces that carry him along. His daily activity, harvesting, [127] hunting, fishing, or stock grazing just fill his time and provide for his immediate necessities. No doubt he puts into these activities all his attention, his patience, and his ability, but he lives with greater feeling in the memory of one fiesta and the anticipation of another, because the fiesta represents to him, to his memory and his desires, a time of intense emotion and the transformation of his being." (64)

64. Caillois, Roger, (El hombre y lo sagrado) [Man and the Sacred].

Caillois continues to explain the fiesta as the ceremony of transformation of chaos into cosmos; or in other words, a

[127 cont.]
714 representation of the re-creation of the universe, the resurgence of nature that changes and disappears, to reappear later.

796 In large part, this could explain the whole of the fiesta.
821 In reality what in La Guajira is being celebrated under the name of the Dance of the Kid is nothing but a true re-creation of the world of the natives of those barren plains. With the arrival of the rains the sea of sand is converted into a green world, the dry beds of the streams become powerful streams of water, the dry brushwood is transformed into green forest, anxiety over thirst disappears, fatigue from sun and desert is changed to rest, hunger to abundance, and worry to hope in the ripening of fruits and the disappearance of the specter of poverty which prowls the sierras and the plains. It is Mareiwa, their divinity, their good spirit, who has made his apparition over the lakes of the Sierra de Nevada, unleashing storms and hurricanes and bringing the promised rains to his creatures.

821 But, on the other hand, the sexual acts we have just shown
796 to be present at this traditional fiesta of La Guajira should be treated apart as they represent a transgression of the established rigid and severe cultural patterns that refer to carnal relations between men and women. As the general interpretation of the *whole of the Guajiro community has not yet been finished, which* could give us sufficient data to carry out necesary clarifications, we shall have to limit ourselves to noting certain outstanding facts.

836 Unmarried men and women in La Guajira, when looked at in its normal state, are subject to rigorous restrictions in their sex life. Sexual intercourse before marriage is not allowed to their women as the men want their spouses to be virgin. The [689] bachelor is limited in the satisfaction of his sexual impulses by the law of compensation payment, which forces him in the case of his having relations with an unmarried girl to pay a heavy indemnity by which is covered the harm done to the woman, the offense [128] to her relatives, and the possible pains and dangers of childbirth when pregnancy occurs. And if these impositions [628] are not complied with or if the Indian does not marry the girl, paying the price her relatives demand, revenge and declaration

[131 cont.]

796 821 summer and over sicknesses, pestilences, and deaths which occur as a consequence of it. But we have no work to sustain this affirmation. Also one must take into account the fact that the [609] natives are not willing that strangers be present at their Fiesta of the Kid; and when they are, the play is much repressed in its natural expression and becomes a pale copy, artificial, almost we might say a special product for exportation. Missionaries [747] have contributed greatly to this since they are opposed to the fiesta, considering it amoral or immoral because of the sexual freedom which is shown during its performance and the representation of natural scenes of the procreative life of animals. All the [114 129] data that we have are not the product of our own personal observation of the fiesta but are reports collected from different sources in diverse parts of La Guajira. They have, at the very least, the value of data verified several times over.

All this leads us to think that even though the Dance of the Kid is directly related to the rains since it always starts when the rains begin even though it is specially dedicated to Mareiwa, the divinity of the rains, as we shall prove in the coming chapter, even though its name [132] appears to be derived from the stellar constellation of the Seven Kids, iwa, whose association with rain we shall also note in the following chapter, it is primarily a ceremony dedicated to fecundity, fecundity of the soil shown by the sprouting of plant life brought about by the rains. Fecundity and rain are seen, then, as two inseparable factors, two terms in the same equation: life.

526 796 We spoke of the aspect of demonstration of ability in theatrical representations when we delimited the areas of study of the ceremonial of the Kid. In effect, according to narrations we have at our disposal about the representative games, which we shall describe in detail in the latter part of this chapter, at the end of each one, out of the two sides which have taken part in the development, one side is seen to triumph over the other due to its greater skill or ability in movement or to the physical strength of those taking part when it is a matter of representations of struggles, as we saw in the game of the hawksbill turtle, and as we shall see in the representation of scenes introducing animals,

[144 cont.]

776 "It seems that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yarujá or Yolugá and the other the Guanurú. The Yarujá, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guanurú.

"The Guanurú is more involved in worldly affairs; he is [753] the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guanurú is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

[114] As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lesser capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have characters, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [145] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

• • •

Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

671 tween law and custom in Guajiro society by a variety of illustrations. One of them said in effect:

574 626 671 If a cacique visits me and I fail to kill a sheep in honor of his visit and to feast him in accordance with the dignity of his rank and my wealth, I have broken a custom of my people. However, though I offend him by such negligence my guest may take no action to redress the wrong other than to inflict the same discourtesy on me if the opportunity should arise. He may seek neither redress in violence nor composition in payment. My only punishment may be the acquisition of a bad name among my people.

586 671 684 But if I visit one of my wives at her rancho and she fails to kill a sheep from her own flocks to feast me, refuses me her person, neglects to supply me with hammocks, saddle-bags, and other articles made by women, or refuses me shelter, she will have broken a 'law'; that is, she will have broken the marriage contract. In this case I may demand from her and her family payment or a divorce. In the latter case her family would have to return to me the bride-price plus any increase in the herds but less an amount considered *fair* for my having exercised sexual privileges over her, though I may demand even this if she marries again. In case her family refuses to adjust [626] the matter in accordance with our law I may appeal to my family for help in obtaining my just rights. I should be justified in having *recourse to violence. However, the law is so well understood that* it would not be necessary to resort to such drastic measures generally.[5]

671 [115] [177] These informants were acquainted to some extent with Colombian and Venezuelan laws and were attempting, no doubt, to classify their own customs in accordance with European practices. Nevertheless it is an indication that in their minds there does exist a class of offenses for which one may seek composition even through violence, and a class that is in the category of merely moral obligations though investigators may not always draw an equally fine distinction. Simcox, for example, in discussing Guajiro law speaks of injury [114] to oneself as giving rise to a legal obligation for composition. 574 My informants, on the contrary, distinguished it from that 626 class of wrongful acts. If a man cuts himself, his father and 672 father's relatives receive an expiatory offering. Had one of my informants, the son of a rich cacique, cut himself he would 602 have given a small barrel of rum and five or more sheep to his

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
629 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Haviland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hoebel.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Goajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archaeological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff, Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Bowser Harrington, archaeologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Robles.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society.

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchería, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca.

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1789, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now,

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 762.

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

In weapons the Goajiro uses the old-fashioned bow and arrow, along with the latest breech-loading rifle. He never strolls ten yards from the rancho without his arrows stuck in his sash and the inseparable bow in his hand. Arrows are of three classes: bolts for killing birds and lizards, *kata*, having a nail or piece of hard wood for a head neatly covered with wax; arrows proper, for killing game and war, *ajuurral*, with iron heads made from old knives filed and worked into shape; and thirdly the terrible poisoned rays, *almard*: these are an ordinary arrow-shaft, with two inches of the bony weapon of the sting-ray (*guaraguai*) loosely fastened to the end, well covered with poison. To prevent accidents, each head is covered by a cane sheath. The poison is putrefied animal matter—toads, snakes, and other reptiles allowed to putrefy and boiled down. When newly done the poison is said to be weak, the same when too old, so the arrows have to be re-dipped at stated intervals (about nine months). Death subvenes from three to twelve days afterwards, a sort of blood-poisoning, and is tolerably certain if the ray-bone has not been got out (a most difficult operation) and the wound well cauterized with a red-hot nail. The Cacique of Yuripiche are reputed the best makers, and enjoy a sort of monopoly. A bunch of twenty-four arrows is sold by them for a dram cut of cotton (eight yards. None of the arrows are feathered; the shafts are made from cane, reeds, and also solid wood. As to firearms the Indian prefers the old "Crown" or "Tower" flintlock (carabine) to the Remington rifle, on account of the uncertainty of getting cartridges. The American flint-lock (carabine coyote-pasahuan) is also much liked.

The principal industries among the Goajiros are collecting [illegible] divi-divi, and salt, and breeding horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, and goats, with the accompanying sale of hides. Their animals are celebrated in the neighbouring provinces for being docile, having been all brought up as it were by hand, for the Indian spares neither time nor trouble on his flocks.

With regard to the language, a small grammar was published in 1878 by Rafael Calcaño. Unfortunately it was printed in Paris, while the author was in America, and is replete with errors in consequence. The language is a much richer one than is generally supposed, and taken as a whole has a euphonious, pleasing effect on the ear, much more so than the neighbouring Arawaks. I have no space here to dwell upon its location, but cannot dismiss the subject without giving the following three examples of match-mad words:—

Ashiaya, a house.	Ita, a cup (gourd).	Yaa, a headdress.
Tashiaya, my house.	Tolaita, my cup.	Tshiyaa, my headdress.
Pashiaya, your house.	Pulaita, your cup.	Pshiyaa, your headdress.
Nashiaya, his house.	Nulaita, his cup.	Nshiyaa, his headdress.
Nashiaya, her house.	Nulaita, her cup.	Nshiyaa, her headdress.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN

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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

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THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The role of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her oldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

This book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. There of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1953 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

?:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Guajiro SC13

Apart from a few old books and what I may have written myself almost nothing has been published about these Indians until recent years. A Colombian expedition, including Roberto Pineda Giraldo, Virginia Gutierrez de Pineda Giraldo and Milciades Chaves made interesting notes. Guajira has been described historically and geographically in papers by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, Julio Londoño and Antonio Garcia; and a work by Father José de Barranquilla should also be mentioned.

Many of the photographs used to illustrate this book were taken by myself, others are the work of Oscar Gildtvet of Oslo, our companion and photographer on the first expedition.

G.B.

[pp. 11-16 not scanned]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

THE GOAJIRO

By John M. Armstrong and Alfred Métraux

THE REGION

The Goajira Peninsula, projecting as part of Colombia northward into the Caribbean Sea, contains an area of about 5,000 square miles, bordered on the east by the Gulf of Venezuela. The broad level plain known as Lower Goajira occupies the base of the peninsula, while the northern extremity is known as Upper Goajira and is characterized by three distinct ranges of hills. These hills have a maximum height of 2,600 feet (about 780 m.) and are separated from each other by two broad plains which run from sea to sea. The country is dry and infertile, the vegetation consisting of divi-divi, cactus, prickly-pear, and other xerophilic plants. Even these are absent where bare rock and stone slides preclude vegetation. Rivers are almost nonexistent, the country being cut in all directions by shallow, dry, sandy water courses which drain off rain as it falls. In the south and west, on the treeless prairies or savannas, the land is more hospitable. Here the Indians do most of their stock raising.

LOCATION AND HISTORY

The pastoral *Goajiro* who inhabit this peninsula (map 6) differ profoundly from the agricultural forest-dwelling *Motilones* and *Arhuaco* to the south. Juan de Castellanos, in his "Elegías de los Varones Ilustres" (1874), is the first to allude to these Indians, though he calls them *Cosinas*. He states that in his time, about 1530, cattle were already abundant in the area. It seems that the adoption of pastoral life by the *Goajiro* took place soon after the Spanish settlement of that part of the continent. The name *Goajiro* was, however, already known in the 16th century and was applied first by Pedro Simón (1882-92). The first reliable ethnographic information about the *Goajiro* goes back to José Nicolás de la Rosa (Nicholás, 1901) and Antonio Julián, who both visited these Indians in the 18th century. Jahn (1927, pp. 119-126) has gathered the few data concerning the *Goajiro* which he found in the early literature. A short summary of the first descriptions of these Indians is given by Hernández de Alba (1936, pp. 8-12).

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Guajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

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The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombian part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

/1951/

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Goajiro /Guajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It was my wish to see personally the astonishingly successful adaptation of these Indians to their extremely dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from August on, Professor Adolf Jodle of

1. M. Gumilla, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-202.

2. The spelling Goajiro is preferred to Guajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajira'/" in Vegetación, pp. 11-33.

/Visit cont./

3. M. Castaldo. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/." Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vroom, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

As the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /Yuli/ branch of the Arawak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vergara y. Cruz (1918 and 1919), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.

/534 cont./

own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros... There are about ten of importance, chief among these the Urianas. This, the largest caste in the Guajira, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularate (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land" /cited in English/. In an "Appendix" (p. 796) at the end of his report, Simons gives a "List of Tribes or Castes, with their respective animals and favourite resting-places" /cited in English/; each of the twenty-two names is found in its proper region on the map provided by him (7).

7. Frazer (Vol. 3, p. 580) reproduced this table in full and clearly expressed his conviction that "the Guajiros have a totemic system of the normal pattern" /cited in English/. In connection with this, he discussed in detail the mother-right customs of this tribe. — Kirchhoff (p. 154) analysed only the relationship between paternal and maternal relatives, so far as it was then possible when "the description of the kinship organization" was" /still/ most incomplete and unsatisfactory." He also clearly made the distinction between the extended family /Grossfamilie/ and sib and

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distinctly stressed that the sib "need not necessarily be a local unit... The bond that holds together the members of a sib is the idea that they descend from the same ancestor and are therefore brothers and sisters..." (p. 90). Actually, the clan members /Klanmitgliedern/ of any sib are allowed to move in complete freedom over all of Guajira. — Vegamian (pp. 36, 347), too, explained: "The Guajiro Indians are divided into castes /castas/ of totemic denomination" /translated from the Spanish/. He discussed in detail their local placement and explained the somewhat variable spelling of the clan names among the authors as follows: "Among the same Indians, perfectly expert in their tongue, there is no uniformity in the pronunciation of one and the same word" /translated from the Spanish/.

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A. Ernst in his second report (1887) used the reliable details furnished by Simons and declared concerning them: "One gains from his presentation a clear picture of the peculiar social relations in which the inhabitants of the peninsula live. What the Spanish writers in their meager reports designated with the vague name 'parcialidades /factions, parties/,' Simons recognized quite rightly as family /Familie/ in the ethnological sense (clan, gens) and gave for several of them the habitual place of residence and the totem

/534 cont./

114 concerned..." (p. 426). "Most are no longer explicable
175 from the present language of the Guajiro..." According to
614 Simons, "there is no doubt that the Guajiro believe in their descent from such an animal... How far the use of the totem extends among the Guajiro is not said either by Simons or by any other reporter" (pp. 440f.). For such an animal, Ernst (1887, p. 442) regarded the valuation "totem" as proper and promised a linguistic analysis of the names for the twenty-two totem-animals noted by Simons.

614 Individual clans /Klane/ exceed others in economic influence and social significance. The ones smaller in number of persons attach themselves to one or several others. The belief in the kindred solidarity of the clan members is grounded in the traditionally transmitted conviction /535/ /map appears here/ /536/ of actual descent from the same totem-animal. Ernst further states: "Since the individual families [= clan groups] live, if not exactly in hostility, nevertheless separated from one another, marriages between members of different families [take] place only in rare cases" (p. 442); which is synonomous with clan-endogamy as the prevailing rule.

114 A series of names given by other reporters are found in
614 part in A. Jahn (p. 142), Armstrong-Métraux (p. 383), and R. Crist (1959, p. 485). Occasionally one has the impression that these authors drew on Simons and Ernst as their sole sources. The statements that the journalist J. Weston makes are false.

2. Most Recent Reports

What Virginia Gutiérrez has put down in her article, "Organización Social en la Guajira" (1948) comes from personal field research. Her article became known to me only after my crossing of the peninsula. The myth recorded by her, in which sibs still living in Guajira are mentioned by name, follows here in free translation. The same account was repeated to me, with a few insignificant variations, by

Text continues on p. 10]

/536 cont./

114 614 two wives of the influential and intelligent Cacique Brúscol (alias Antonio Juan López); from both I was given the assurance that it is known to nearly all of their people. In a subse- 178 614 quent conversation with still other women it became clear that the social and juristic role of the clan system had become simplified and dulled in the course of the centuries up to the present, and above all that the original rigor of its demands had become milder and in part even lost. Certain practices still maintained and various fragments of tradition permit one to piece together an adequately clear picture of the totemistic organization in Guajira, despite many manifestations of mother-right.

614 Our Indians have a mythological explanation of how the whole Guajiro people was originally divided into many clans [212] (8). Each totem-clan has its individual symbol, comparable

8. Petrullo (p. 155) supplements this by confirming: "Casta [is] the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory" /cited in English/.

to a monogram. Every clan-member marks himself and his 614 personal goods, predominately domestic animals, with it. 212 The Indians paint this symbol with ordinary watercolor on a 422 stone, carve it in wooden objects (plates, style of a mattock, 231 house posts), tattoo it on their arms, etc., all in plain fun and without any serious intention of demonstrating their right of ownership. On the other hand, the same symbol, which is peculiar to a clan, is branded without exception on every domestic animal that the individual clan-member owns. Obviously it is the same sign for all the animals of all the members of a particular clan; yet the animals remain /537/ the personal property of their owner, and the latter himself

/837 cont./

around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Irajoro.

10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 181 ff.

Here, under an oti tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [sic] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

/537 cont./

sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/537 cont./

not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning will not strike there.

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Sorunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

Mr. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Sorunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the sangre de toro, or piacwait, to wash itself where the birth took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó /ishu, Phoenicosaugis rubra/ with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker /Ceophloeus lineatus/ arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

Sorunka bore several children, and the Guajiro proceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa

/540 cont./

614 The continued influencing through a series of generations,
614 even though nevertheless brief, by Spanish culture and the
177 spirit of modern times has finally also altered the primitive
178 judgment and feeling of these Indians and has strengthened in
them the pride to assert themselves now as "enlightened."
It therefore need not be surprising that today they laugh in
the face of a foreign visitor when the latter poses his questions
as though he himself regarded a blood descent of the clan
members from their totem animal as established and factual.
[123] The above-mentioned Cacique Briscol (15) even whispered

15. This pure-blooded, intelligent, and experienced Indian refers several times to the clans of his Guajiro people in his well-written story.

disrespectfully in my ear: "You must not suppose that we think of an animal when we present the totem as our ancestor. Every ancestor was as human as we are; only at the very beginning was he just like the totem that each clan has had since then. Our forefathers respected their totem animal more than we do today; they neither persecuted it nor ate its flesh. Now the habits of our ancestors are disappearing among us, one after another. There are now only sixteen independent
614 'castas'; their number was formerly double that." V. Gutiérrez
177 herself agreed with Briscol's interpretation when she presented
114 the introductory words to another myth. "The Distribution
/541/ of the Clan Districts" (p. 170): Mareiwa "then told the birds they were Indians" /translated from the Spanish/. Such words make it clear: the myth knows no distinction between totem animal and Indian in their mode of being and acting! Therefore one does not get anywhere in the analysis of myths with a knife-sharp dialectic lacking any imagination.
614 Thus, I may indeed, along with the reporters from former times up to our day, regard the social division of the Guajiro people as properly totemistic in style. Two years ago (1959),

/541 cont./

614 Crist (p. 485) wrote: "The Indians of the Guajira are divided into various clans or blood groups, castas, each with its distinguishing totem representing the animal with whose traits, according to legend, the clan was originally imbued" /cited in English/.

614 The thought complex that has solidified around the
20 totem of our Indians — to mention it once more in conclusion — gets significant confirmation of its truely totemistic character by the visible symbol for each one of the three dozen of them. None of these totem signs — whether one calls them clan signs, symbols, monograms, emblems, property marks, or something else — is revealed as typically [201] Christian or Spanish in design. The Indian women of olden times wove them into their pieces of weaving, and, as has already been mentioned above (p. 10), the men put their [203] clan-signs on other objects. According to the myth, the original ancestor of a given clan was assigned it in an individual presentation by Mareiwa himself, and it has been retained down to the present day. /See the foreign text for the list of "Sources Mentioned," pp. 541-542./

/542/ Supplement:

• 114 614 As a consequence of a long stay in East Asia, which I concluded a short time ago, two pertinent articles first came to my attention when the article presented here was already in printing:

[113] Santa Cruz, Antonio, "Acquiring Status in Guajiro Society," Anthropological Quarterly, 33, 1960, pp. 115-127.

Wilbert, Johannes, "Identificación Etno-Lingüística de Tribus Indígenas del Occidente de Venezuela," Mem. Soc. de Ciencias Natur. La Salle, 21, 1961, pp. 5-14.

Both articles refer to the clan-division among the Guajiro described by me. The almost completed printing of my article, however, does not permit me to discuss them in detail; therefore this brief reference must suffice.

/6 cont./

Want among them during the past years of drought, which has spoiled the pastures of their herds of cattle, is said to have driven these Indians more and more in among the population of Riohacha. One also comes across them in Dibulla and along the coast to it. From the ethnographic point of view the sight of them is a great reproach: why have they not been thoroughly studied long ago? Descriptions of what one sees are not sufficient, no more than the purchase of their tools or grammars and vocabularies in the manner of Father Celedon, which, as scrupulous as they are, are not adequate for what is required today, because of their narrow, schematic reduction to rules and lack of control on the basis of texts. Admittedly we owe him, and all who have written about the Goajiro, our thanks and our appreciation, not only because it is through their efforts that anything at all is known, but also, considering the difficult conditions of that time, for the scientific attitudes and the costs, which could barely be afforded, for long, strictly scientific ethnographic publications. Yes, still today we must be grateful for every single enrichment of our knowledge: but the professional ethnographer must always bear in mind that he should prefer a more detailed investigation of a single tribe rather than a hasty visit to several, or that at least he should not do the latter without having accomplished the former task.

If, by virtue of its stately buildings, Santa Marta still gave the impression of a princely residence, if one still felt there, through the daily connections with Barranquilla by means of the railroad and inland navigation and by reason of the steamships in the harbor, the pulsebeat of the world's traffic, in Riohacha one had /7/ already moved considerably closer to the native way of life and the isolation which one faced. There were still hotels and newspapers from Barranquilla there, one could still examine there daily the war reports which the German and British consuls received, but, on the other hand, the members of the great nations appeared only by chance, and I was supposed to provide, not receive, the latest news. But I could not confirm the wild rumors that Calais had been taken by the Germans. So now I again had to depend on my personal mail, which arrived at long monthly intervals and which brought me in the Bogotá "Unidad" the German news sent